

URBAN TRADITIONS IN THE MIDST OF THE CHINATOWN OF LIVERPOOL AND THE QUASI-ENCLAVE OF GLASGOW

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Migration has contributed to shaping urban transformation in cities at various scales. Today, it is emerging as a polarising challenge within the politics of urbanism. This article considers the draw of British cities on Chinese migrants, perceived as cities of opportunity, security, and the seeking of upward mobility in a new place to call home. The study questions whether staging an ethnic community and its subsequent origin or source traditions is beneficial to cultural diversity in the city, or whether this may lead to a lack of integration and opportunity for the migrant communities. In a comparative assessment, the dense Chinatown of Liverpool is juxtaposed with the dispersed ethnic enclaves of Chinese migrants across Glasgow, revealing their authenticity, community cohesiveness, and identity within their urban milieus.

AN OVERVIEW OF CHINESE MIGRATION TO EUROPE

Chinese migration to Europe was incited by the end of the First Opium War in 1841, whereupon Hong Kong was established as a British colony. Consequently, China began open trade with the West, and eventually introduced national independent migration some years later in 1860, albeit with firm restrictions. The first wave of Chinese migrant workers from this period settled in the coastal communities of Germany, the Netherlands, and the United Kingdom in order to utilise their native seafaring skills.¹ Migration from China remained minimal until the First World War, during which over 100,000 labours were employed in the trenches of France and Belgium. Most did not remain in Europe however, and European cities integrated little to no Chinese migrant communities until the end of the Second World War. The communist economy of Mao Zedong in the following period saw the prohibition of emigration in China from 1949. This hiatus was briefly interrupted by a mass migration from Hong Kong to the United Kingdom, bringing predominantly culinary trade. Emigration from China however continued to be highly restricted for the following several decades.²

With the new strategies of the Chinese Communist Party, a catalyst for change eventually came in the early 1980s. Following the development of diplomatic relations with the United States, travel regimes were liberated from their excessive restriction. Further reforms in the travel legislation in the following years allowed for individuals to emigrate for personal reasons, and so generated a drastic increase in Chinese immigration internationally. Consequently, from this time onwards, Chinese communities within European cities became far more diverse and developed, cultivating native traditions in host countries, and expanding new skillsets and trades as their populations grew. The number of Chinese migrants in

Europe has increased from 600,000 in 1980 to 2.15 million by 2007,³ a number that continues to rise today (Fig.1).

The United Kingdom has played a significant role in the development of this migration due to its early industrialisation and progressive living standards from the 1950's onwards. Chinese migrants worked en-mass initially as unskilled labourers,⁴ while some found self-employment in food catering businesses and local retail, due to the pressures of integrating into a British society. Faced with language barriers and racial discrimination, Chinese communities and trade became more self-sustaining, often employing only labourers of the same ethnicity, language and cultural backgrounds. This consequently led to a further increase of Chinese migrants into established Chinese communities within the cities of Britain.⁵ Today there are approximately 433,000 Chinese migrants living in the UK, conglomerating in localised communities situated in the larger cities of London, Birmingham, Manchester, Liverpool, Glasgow and Edinburgh.⁶ These communities are largely self-sufficient in trade, where cultural traditions have been carried from native origins and formed into small, clustered businesses and public spaces. The spatial demarcation of such areas is typically termed ethnic enclaves or Chinatowns, and is so observed across many cultural migration patterns (Fig. 2).

PROBLEMATIZING THE SPATIALITY OF MIGRATION

Migration has contributed to changing demographics and to an increase in ethnic diversity, ultimately characterising both physical and social aspects of societies and cities. Examining residential, urban patterns and housing schemes, reveals that this epitome is not echoed in the urban environment. One elucidatory conjecture is that "*ethnic residential segregation exists because people choose to live near others with the same ethnic background.*"⁷ It is also argued that areas where ethnic minorities assimilate feature spatial qualities that may encourage them to stay rather than move elsewhere in the city.

Theories on segregation or integration of migrant communities within cities are trans-disciplinary in nature. Nonetheless, the physical environment has not been sufficiently covered by these theories and thus needs to be seen as an important layer that informs the manifestation of ethnic groupings in an urban milieu. Three concepts appear to characterise the understanding of ethnic groups and enable subsequent appreciation of what segregation means. While, in some cases, used interchangeably these concepts are: clustering, centralisation, and concentration. Clustering is one aspect of social organisation that has been observed throughout the history and in various settings. Contemporary discussions on ethnic clustering have mostly focused on the lack of access to jobs, education, and other public services in minority communities, as well as larger processes of ghetto formation and urban decline.⁸ However, earlier literature has discussed centralisation as the degree to which a group is spatially located near the centre of an urban area; groups that settle near city centre areas usually tend to be spatially concentrated.⁹

Similarly, concentration refers to the relative amount of physical space occupied by a minority group in the urban environment; groups that occupy a small share of the total area in a city are said to be residentially concentrated.¹⁰

Socio-spatial segregation is defined as the “*residential separation of groups within the broader population, whereby some areas show an over- representation and other areas an under- representation of members of a group.*”¹¹ There are good and bad types of segregation that are essentially characterised by whether the members choose to live in segregated space thus called an ethnic enclave, or if not and their spatial and social movement is constrained, thus called an ethnic ghetto.¹² Notably, both have positive and negative connotations attached that could be related to social attributes.

Typically, segregated areas manifest a spatial mismatch in which job and employment opportunities and public facilities are not located near by. Groups living in an area of segregation are less exposed to socio-economic opportunities and this includes disparities in income, educational attainment levels, or life expectancy.¹³ Unavoidably this has a negative effect on social and spatial structure. However, the spatial dimension of social segregation has not been sufficiently studied in relation to urban design or manifestations of urban traditions.

The United Kingdom has in recent history experienced a great influx of migration with a global reach. Each ethnic group congregates as the Chinese have in their native communities within large-scale urban environments. It remains difficult to determine how integrated, or conversely segregated these ethnic groups and enclaves have become, as the number of migrants to a community has no apparent correlation with its level of cohesion in a city. In spatial terms, an ethnic group is defined as a physical area with a characteristic race, religion, nationality or culture. The term generally describes settlements of minorities whose presence in society stems from a past or current migration. Ethnic groups tend to be perceived as culturally or racially different to the host society.

Likewise, ethnic enclaves are classified as “*neighbourhoods or sections of a community whose key institutions and business enterprises are owned and operated by members of an ethnic group clustered together*”.¹⁴ Determined predominantly by the strength of the economy of the community rather than its social cohesiveness, ethnic enclaves create a type of social capital that enhances migrant networking inside of the community. These enclaves can be observed in the close grouping of immigrant-owned businesses that employ co-ethnic labour. The integration of ethnic groups and enclaves into British cities has resulted both host and migrant traditions becoming part of a national identity. This is manifest in the unique and culturally diverse services of food, craft and retail originating from across the world into the urban fabric of various cities of the UK.

The preceding argument insinuates that the exploration of whether spatial qualities of ethnically concentrated areas could reproduce segregation is important. This is crucial, especially when physical

planning is rarely integrated into anti-segregation initiatives.¹⁵ In essence, the reciprocal relationship between segregation and spatial-urban form needs to be captured closely. In turn, this postulates that discussions on urban traditions of migrant communities should start from an asserting position that spatial environments are viewed as ‘lived spaces,’ and hence, potential insights into the physical environment on an experiential level rather than simply on an intangible-conceptual one, can be elucidated.

CULTURAL AUTHENTICITY OF CHINESE ETHNIC ENCLAVES IN THE UNITED KINGDOM

Ethnic enclaves consisting of Chinese migrants are often referred to as Chinatowns, which are singularly defined as “*a concentrated district of a non-Chinese town in which the population is predominantly Chinese.*” The distinction of a specifically Chinese district is a product of a perceived ‘ethnic solidarity’ which is synonymous with Chinese migrant communities¹⁶, perhaps strengthened by their characteristic self-sustenance and draw for future Chinese emigrants. With this exclusivity however, comes a lack of integration into the host city over the decades since its establishment. This phenomenon has been acknowledged in the realm of social studies of Chinatowns, the population of which often are described as ‘invisible communities.’ The evident segregation has allowed migrant communities to develop strong social networks internally nonetheless, often with greater trust and commitment between its members,¹⁷ resulting in economic activities based on community relationships. It is these intimate ties, which create stability in Chinese businesses within ethnic enclaves, as there is a correlation between social connections and cohesion in the community and its socio-economic capital.¹⁸ Inevitably a commerce driven community will prioritise economic growth over perhaps social closeness or communal activity. At the core of all Chinatowns is this drive, as they have developed precisely because of their economic ambition of self-promotion and profit. It so follows that in recent decades we have begun to question the authenticity of Chinatowns. Due to the commodification of ethnic enclaves for economic gains, such places increasingly draw on culture-based tourism of questionable motive and authenticity.¹⁹

Fundamentally however, our perception of authenticity is subjective and open to interpretation,²⁰ which makes it difficult to measure. It could be argued that successful ethnic enclaves promote their culture and social cohesion through their commercial identity. Equally some Chinatowns are considered to be tourist destinations, commercially evolved to cater for visitors as opposed to their co-ethnic residents,²¹ and so lack ethnic authenticity. This is evident in the decline of ethnic grocery businesses as restaurants and tourism become more prevalent in some ethnic enclaves, and can be seen as an indication that the priorities of the community are shifting towards more gentrified commercial interests over local and cultural representation. Today, it can be observed that while Chinatowns are no longer exclusive to Chinese migrants, they continue to operate as close-knit communities with a clear culture and social

network that can easily be distinguished from the surrounding urban context. In essence, it could be argued that regardless of commercial development, the purpose of these Chinatowns remains; to house native identity and foster a community built on trust and shared traditions.

The recent body of knowledge on Chinatowns suggests that Chinese communities are ever changing, highly dynamic and spatially challenging to define. Consequently, it is important to comprehend the non-physical factors that affect ethnic enclaves; their socio-cultural and socio-economic influences. Building on earlier research on defining the authenticity of Chinatowns,²² a number of factors are identified to describe six dimensions of authenticity as seen through both an enclave's spatial pattern and its social characteristics:

- A) *Location*: By definition the spatial distribution of residents, institutions and businesses in Chinatowns. In studying the location of migrant communities, it can be ascertained whether spatial distribution in cities affects the dispersion or converse cohesiveness of the migrants.
- B) *Residential Mobility*: How frequently do the residents change or move between areas within and outside of the city. High mobility in a Chinatown may reflect lower resident satisfaction, as migrant might choose to move to areas with better employment opportunities or education access, and better housing standards.²³
- C) *Ethnic Identity*: A sense of shared identity is critical to the authenticity of ethnic enclaves. This can be achieved in Chinatowns where Chinese culture and tradition is still prevalent and distinguishable from the surrounding urban context. These areas are often obstructed by second-generation migrants or transnational families where the host and origin cultures become interchangeable. The power of an ethnic enclave comes from its ability to sustain a culture and sense of identity out with their context, and so it's authenticity could be said to be reliant on how closely the origin identity has been preserved.
- D) *Cultural Assimilation*: Where a minority group or community develops to resemble those of its dominant context. In the case of Chinatowns this can take place if the culture of the host city is seen and practiced within the migrant community as it develops over generations. There is a debate as to whether cultural assimilation is good or bad for the host city and migrant community respectively, as social cohesion between the two is never guaranteed and cultural diversity within the city can be subsequently diminished.
- E) *Diverse Commercial Activity*: Referring to self-serving businesses within an ethnic enclave. It is thought that trade interaction inside of the community promotes further commercial activity and economy benefiting the migrant community and helping to maintain a self-sustaining economy.²⁴

F) Cultural Commodification: Elements of the origin culture are sold and consumed by visitors, creating an economic asset from the ethnic group's origin culture.²⁵ Although this can be seen as detrimental to the Chinatown's authenticity, it reflects a desire to preserve and understand cultural origins, to share with the greater community. Ideally cultural commodification in a Chinatown would manifest in food and retail, arts and language, and community traditions that attract both resident migrants and city dwellers at large.

A CONTEXTUAL EXPLORATORY APPROACH: UNVEILING AUTHENTICITY AND SPATIAL QUALITY IN CHINESE MIGRANT AGGLOMERATIONS

A contextual exploratory approach to explore the authenticity of Chinese migrant communities in two contrasting cities in the United Kingdom, Liverpool and Glasgow is adopted to reveal the primary qualities of agglomerations of Chinese communities. Both cities are home to some of the largest Chinese migrant communities in the UK. Yet, each community is integrated into their respective cities quite differently and so provides a case for contrast. The development of the Chinatown in Liverpool began as a dense hub, which quickly established social and economic networks independent of Liverpool's own economy and communities. In contrast, Glasgow has a large Chinese migrant population but lacks an identifiable Chinatown, resulting in a less legible Chinese cultural presence in the city.

The location of the Chinese migrant community in Liverpool is split over three concentrated areas in the city centre. Chinese migration to Liverpool has a history dating back to the mid-1800s²⁶ that has rooted the community into the development and evolution of Liverpool city. Successive waves of migration established a site on Pitt Street in the 1930s, with an additional new wave of migrants settling close by on Cleveland Square in the 1940s. Finally, the formal establishment of the Chinatown occurred in 1970 on Nelson Street and has since connected the groups together to form a close and self-sustaining community (Fig. 3).

While the identification of sites in Glasgow is less clear, three main enclaves have been chosen for the purposes of this exploration. It should be noted that there are also additional groups of Chinese activity across the city centre. The core settlements of Chinese migrant communities can be found to the west of the city centre at Charing Cross, which has suffered segregation since the construction of the M8 highway which directly penetrates through the community that had been established by 1980. Some movement occurred westward to Garnethill, Woodlands and Possilpark where some Chinese businesses remain today. The highest concentration of Chinese business today can be found along Great Western Road, St George's Road and Sauchiehall Street.

In order to examine the authenticity of each community, the approach to assessment is divided into two procedures. The first draws upon the six determinants of authenticity in Chinatowns, which were

identified earlier, to identify the visibility or presence of ethnic identity in each city, or lack thereof. Preceding this reflective examination, a second procedure provides a closer look at selected public spaces within the agglomerations of Chinese communities in the City of Glasgow using a walking tour survey.²⁷ This represents an attempt to unveil the quality and ethnic culture attributed to each space by assessing key factors associated with the perception and use of public space.

NARRATING CULTURAL AUTHENTICITY OF CHINESE MIGRANT COMMUNITIES IN LIVERPOOL AND GLASGOW

The six identified factors in the authenticity of Chinatowns are; location, residential mobility, ethnic identity, cultural assimilation, diversity of commercial activity, and cultural commodification. The dispersion of ethnic communities as seen in Glasgow and perhaps consequent diffusion of ethnic identities can be determined by these factors. The following narrative presents a reflective review of each factor individually, comparing the migrant communities of Liverpool and Glasgow to potentially reveal various qualities of their perceived cultural authenticity, identity and economic diversity.

Location

Historically, generations of migrants have followed their predecessors to established communities within new cities. The benefits of these migrant communities include social and familial networks, a perceived security, and the economic opportunities made available to co-ethnic residents.²⁸ In the context of Liverpool, given that its Chinatown was well-established fairly early in the city's development, the subsequent residential identity perceived today is strong. The area surrounding the Chinatown and Nelson Street is facilitated by a housing association which is inhabited by a high concentration of Chinese migrants. This physical closeness and density in the city centre provides enhanced social capital and cohesion inside the ethnic enclave, with a consequent draw for future Chinese migrants. In the case of Glasgow, the majority of Chinese communities in Glasgow are difficult to define spatially.²⁹ Today the ethnic population is dispersed across the city due to social, economic and cultural factors (Fig. 4).

Residential Mobility

Mobility has changed the demographics and social capital of many Chinese migrant communities across the UK. As generations move on and cultural traditions are adapted or appropriated, some residents move away in the facing of a changing or assimilating community. The greater the residential mobility from these communities the greater the dispersion of ethnic groups and identities across cities is.

In Liverpool the movement of the established Chinese enclaves is rather limited, having only migrated locally due to the destruction of the city centre in World War II, and later following a council

led city renewal development. From the 1970's onwards the community has maintained its residency and established a new hub for the Chinatown on Nelson Street due to the clustering of new businesses. It should be noted that many Chinese migrants have left Liverpool in more recent decades in favour of the more economically advanced cities of Manchester and Birmingham. Yet, the Chinese migrant community in the city remains strongly connected, with little desire for residential mobility, as the residents prefer to settle in the Chinatown.

The dispersion of Chinese migrants in Glasgow can be attributed to the city's culture of economic and social mobility. The lack of historical presence in the city meant that migrants faced more challenges integrating into the existing communities, and many faced exclusion and segregation. Studies show that Chinese migrants dispersed to peripheral towns in the 1980s, with communities forming in the suburban areas of Bishopbriggs, Bearsden and Milngavie and leaving only 33% of their population inhabiting the city itself. Finding that their ethnic concentration in Garnethill was causing employment and educational limitations,³⁰ the Chinese migrants dispersed locally to integrate with existing communities in Greater Glasgow. Such families unfortunately tended to be low-income households due to financial, social and cultural problems, and so were limited to mobility only in the more deprived areas of the city.

Ethnic Identity

Ethnic identity when observed can reveal how migrants make places and homes in host cities. This is achieved through cultural behaviours, products, traditions and physical design of the local community environment. The ethnic identity of Liverpool's Chinatown is very legible in both its physical appearance and cultural events. Housing in the nearby streets of Cornwallis, Bailey and Sankey Street are decorated with vibrant Chinese adornments and ornament. This theme is present across the Chinatown in the traditional arch construction and even the road infrastructure and lighting. Signage is present in both English and Chinese, and a concentration of religious buildings can be found in the district used exclusively by the migrant community. The public provisions of the Chinatown are rooted in social priorities, with facilities ranging from educational, medical, employment, welfare and childcare inside the community.³¹

Glasgow has housed Chinese migrant communities for around 50 years, and so has cultivated a diverse migrant population from origin countries including China, Vietnam, Malaysia and Hong Kong.³² It is difficult to clearly identify Chinese elements or clear architectural manifestations in the test sites of Glasgow's Chinese enclaves, with some exceptions in the commercial properties of Loong Foong Restaurant and the 'Chinatown' warehouse market. Architectural mimicry however is not necessarily conducive to authenticity, as research suggests that it is mostly utilised in marketing strategies and space making. While ethnic identity appears to be less tangible, there are few official Chinese events hosted by

the city; the Chinese New Year was celebrated on a large scale in Glasgow for the first time in 2017. Overall however there are minimal events that portray the Chinese ethnicity in the city, which could be detrimental to the ethnic identity of Chinese migrants in Glasgow in the coming years (Fig. 5).

Cultural Assimilation

Also known as acculturation, cultural assimilation manifests when the migrant community adopts the host society's cultural patterns; integrating with clubs and institutions, inter-marriage, and finding new identity from the host city with the loss of the ethnic group as a separate identity.³³ Cultural assimilation is also believed to increase with each generation following immigration. Early theories described the consequence of cultural assimilation to be "*the gradual process whereby cultural differences tend to disappear.*"³⁴

Despite its relatively long history, the Chinatown in Liverpool developed with some cultural assimilation yet overall has retained its origin culture. Influencing factors might include the early development of Chinese institutions and community facilities in the city, which has helped the migrant population to continuously engage with their cultural traditions. Assimilation through marriage gradually changed the primary religion of the migrant community to Christianity, as evident in the Chinese Gospel Church and the Chinese Christian Disciples Church located within the Chinatown today.

From its comparatively recent conception, the Chinese migrant community has assimilated into the culture of the city of Glasgow more intimately and on an individual rather than collective level. This correlates with the lack of dense ethnic grouping that may have influenced Chinese migrant families to integrate more cohesively with the greater city. In recent decades research findings convey that the older generations of Chinese migrants retained more of their origin culture and traditions due to initial language and cultural barriers, however the younger generations have assimilated to the point that many struggle to become fluent in Chinese, due to their formative education in the Scottish school system (Fig. 6).³⁵

Diversity in Commercial Activity

In Liverpool, inside the Chinatown the food industry has flourished, concentrated on Nelson Street in particular, which houses a cluster of Chinese restaurants to the east, and a selection of ethnic grocery stores to the west. This density and arrangement has generated a strong commercial identity belonging to the Chinese migrant community. Beyond the self-supportive economy within the Chinatown, established Chinese entrepreneurs have gained enough economic mobility in recent decades to branch into the greater city and so has increased diversity in the greater city's commercial activity.

Whilst the development of Chinese migrant businesses in Glasgow was interrelated and self-promoting within the community, the businesses were located individually and fairly dispersed in the

various locations of ethnic enclaves. As the community grew, some diversity in the commercial activity of the group was achieved in new, ancillary businesses. Today however, the majority of young Chinese migrants pursue careers integrated in the greater city over family business (Fig.7).

Cultural Commodification

Whilst perceived as a divisive and often criticised behaviour, the primary benefit of cultural commodification is its ability to preserve migrant culture and history whilst establishing a home in host societies, and consequently diversifying the mainstream culture. The success and economic prosperity of the Chinese migrant community in Liverpool has resulted in greater integration of these businesses into the economic structure of the greater city. As the ethnic enterprises outgrew the bounds of the Chinatown, new businesses have begun to establish themselves in the active northeast quarter of Liverpool to cater for the general city population. This has resulted in the original business of the Chinatown to deteriorate and become more reliant on tourist trade.

An example of cultural commodification in Glasgow is observed in the Loong Foong restaurant and also the Chinatown Chinese Market in Cowcaddens, which both have adorned their facades with traditional Chinese architectural features. The Chinese Market could be considered less successful in its commodification due to its customer base being predominantly Chinese migrants, in comparison to the See Woo Foods, which draws an international customer base arguably due to its prime location in the city travel routes. Another way that cultural commodification is manifested in the community business is in the growing number of ethnic restaurants which provide both English and Chinese menus, which offer both differences in language and dishes catered for the perceived tastes of each group. In general, the business, which is located in the original locations of ethnic enclaves, retains their priority to serve Chinese migrants, whilst the more dispersed Chinese businesses towards the city centre are predominantly westernised (Fig. 8).

THE SPATIAL QUALITY OF THE CHINESE ETHNIC ENCLAVES IN GLASGOW

The spatial quality of a place or an urban setting is perceived in relational terms and with reference to a number of formal/visual variables associated with meanings and behavioural and experiential aspects.³⁶ Following earlier exploratory studies conducted in other and similar contexts³⁷ this procedure involves an examination of three key attributes and is conducted to facilitate a microscopic view and an understanding of urban settings associated with three ethnic enclaves in Glasgow: The See Woo Warehouse, Matthew's Food, and the Chinese Centre. These have been selected as representative spaces of the Chinese migrant community of Glasgow and based on their vibrancy and diversity (Fig. 9).

To this end, a tool is developed encompassing categorised checklists under three major sets of attributes: cultural identity, economic diversity, and socio-spatial practice. Each set of attributes includes seven factors with a scoring system and a four-point scale, where scores are assigned against each factor in terms of degree of appropriateness. Based on repeated visits and scoring in each visit by each researcher individually, scores were then averaged to establish a collective score for each set of attributes. The total 21 factors stem from urban literature in the context of migration and are developed to reflect the spatial quality of three ethnic enclaves identified as follows:

- A) *Cultural Identity*: suitability and desirability, spatial identity, architectural identity, responsiveness, attractiveness, ethnic identity and special support facilities.
- B) *Economic Diversity*: variety of use, preferences, participation and engagements, vibrancy and uniqueness, effectiveness, proximity and continuity, and social interaction.
- C) *Socio-spatial Practice*: sense of interaction, age group diversity, social activities, appropriateness, reachability, accessibility, and harmony.

It is recognised that some factors underlying one set of attributes may overlap with factors underlying another. In essence, this ensures a process of verification; that if one factor is misinterpreted in the scoring of one set, such a misinterpretation could be corrected when assessing a similar one under another set. (Fig.10)

See Woo Warehouse

The See Woo Warehouse is regarded as an unofficial hub for Chinese migrants in the Greater Glasgow area due to its large size and program of activities. The primary warehouse accommodates a wide selection of Chinese groceries, and is adjoined by a traditional restaurant, which generates social vibrancy and diversity in activity for both the Chinese community and the city residents.

The preliminary findings of the walking tour indicate that See Woo Warehouse is perceived to be very attractive as a destination for the Chinese migrant population. High scoring attributes include the provision of opportunities for intensive human interaction, the appearance of authentic Chinese elements in the interior design, and the hosting of a wide range of traditional practices. Within the city, See Woo has a recognisable brand of commercial activities, and due to its expansive product range has a large customer base, which in turn keeps the warehouse well occupied and vibrant. The warehouse is well connected and accessible by road, which facilitates a wider customer base, and integrates with the wider urban context.

The Chinese Centre

In comparison the Chinese Centre is lesser known to the city population, perhaps due to its location and smaller scale. The centre does however have a stronger traditional visual presence, legible in the main entrance and bounding walls designed in an ornamental and authentic Chinese style. It is located close to the cluster of universities and colleges in the north sector of the city centre that has attracted a customer base of international and Chinese migrant students from the nearby student housing. The collection of small grocery stores within caters almost entirely to local Chinese residents of a diverse age range.

The walking tour reveals that the key favourable factor in the Chinese Centre is its distinctive traditional architecture. Beyond this it is perceived well in its unique and diverse curation of commercial products and specialist foods that are true to origin. It does however promote less space for social interaction than See Woo, due to its size, location and continuity of public space. Its provision of socio-spatial practice is therefore not perceived to be particularly appropriate. Downfalls of the Chinese Centre in terms of spatial quality and use can be pinpointed to its segregated and fairly inaccessible location, which does not aid social engagement.

Matthew's Food

In between the preceding sites is Matthew's Food, a public building containing Chinese grocery stores, restaurants and a catering/delivery service. The location is amidst the motorway infrastructure north of the city and so is not well known to the general city population. It does however draw a loyal customer base of Chinese migrants through its provision of ethnic specialist foods, and so has been evaluated highly as an appropriate urban space for migrant community. The location of the building also promotes the connection of these three facilities to the betterment of the Chinese community throughout the city. On the other hand, the socio-spatial practice is favourable for this location in terms of its accessibility by vehicle and local residents, as well as appropriateness for a diversity of age groups. It is perceived to be less accommodating again for social activities and also mobility needs.

In terms of cultural identity, as shown in the table above; there is a slight variation in the spatial assessment of cultural identity in each of the spaces, however all are perceived to be appropriate in both ethnic authenticity and spatial qualities. The See Woo Warehouse and the Chinese Centre both are evaluated highly in these criteria, which indicates that they have a strong, legible cultural identity. Matthew's Food, whilst meeting most of the criteria well, expresses less identity comparably, which can be attributed to its smaller customer base and presence in the greater city.

Attributes	Checklists/Factors	Ethnic Enclaves in Glasgow		
		See Woo Warehouse	Chinese Centre	Matthew's Food
Cultural Identity	Suitability & Desirability	3.50	2.50	3.00
	Spatial Identity	3.00	4.00	3.00
	Architectural Identity	2.50	4.00	2.50
	Responsiveness	3.50	2.50	2.50
	Attractiveness	4.00	3.50	3.50
	Ethnic Identity	3.00	3.50	2.50
	Special Support Facilities	3.50	3.00	3.00
	Average	3.28	3.28	2.86
Economic Diversity	Variety of Uses	3.00	2.50	3.00
	Preferences	3.50	3.50	3.50
	Participation / Engagement	3.00	3.00	3.00
	Vibrancy & Uniqueness	3.50	3.50	3.00
	Effectiveness	3.00	2.00	3.00
	Proximity & Continuity	2.50	2.50	3.00
	Social Interaction	3.00	2.50	3.00
	Average	3.07	2.78	3.07
Socio-spatial Practice	Sense of interaction	3.00	2.50	2.50
	Age Group Diversity	3.50	2.50	2.50
	Social Activities	3.00	2.00	2.00
	Appropriateness	3.50	3.00	2.50
	Reachability	2.50	3.00	2.50
	Accessibility	2.50	1.50	2.00
	Harmony	3.50	3.00	3.00
	Average	3.07	2.50	2.42
≤ 1.00 (Highly Inappropriate)		$> 1.00 - 2.00$ (Inappropriate)	$> 2.00 - 3.00$ (Appropriate)	> 3.00 (Highly Appropriate)

Table 1: Scoring results of the walking tour assessment procedures of the three ethnic enclaves.

The three areas representing ethnic enclaves strengthen their case for authenticity from an economic diversity perspective and in their provision of specialist Chinese goods, in particular groceries. This factor alone is arguably the pinnacle of their customer base, as there is evidently high demand for traditional products in the Chinese migrant communities. This also lends to the perceived authenticity of these businesses that are catering to the true desires of the local Chinese population over all other economic priorities. Cultural vibrancy and uniqueness are recognisable attributes of the See Woo Warehouse and the Chinese centre, as they host a variety of functions and spaces with success. Criteria including social interaction, proximity and effectiveness are evaluated as moderately appropriate, however the Chinese Centre specifically is perceived to be ineffective in economic diversity.

Echoing its popularity in the city generally, See Woo Warehouse critically provides quality internal spaces for social interaction and houses a diversity of ages. This debatably can be attributed to its large scale, there is simply more room to accommodate for different social needs. Accessibility on a citywide scale and internal ease of access are key factors in the poor evaluation of both Matthew's Food and the Chinese Centre. Where See Woo is located at the junction of major travel routes close to the motorway,

these spaces are not so prominent in location and do not stand out in their urban context. Additionally, there are very poor provisions in both for users with mobility needs.

CULTIVATING DIVERSE URBAN TRADITIONS OF MIGRANT COMMUNITIES IN BRITISH CITIES

This article attempted to instigate discussions on key issues relevant to the potentially positive outcomes of cultivating and celebrating urban traditions in the cities of the United Kingdom to the mutual benefit of the migrant communities and the greater city as one. It is acknowledged that migration patterns continually lend to the clustering and establishment of ethnic enclaves in the urban setting, and that this behaviour has many benefits for both the host city and the migrant community. The ability of these migrant communities to integrate without losing their sense of origin identity is less easy to define, as these two aspirations are not necessarily conducive to one another. Over the course of this exploration it has become rather evident that close-knit ethnic enclaves foster cohesion and a clear sense of cultural identity while enabling strong socio-economic cycles that advantage the community's welfare and independence in the city. Geographical locations and spatial qualities have a critical role in the cohesiveness of these migrant communities, and as seen in the two cases of Liverpool and Glasgow, greatly impact how each community is perceived and manifest their traditions in their respective host cities.

Wherein Liverpool the migrant community was established early, the establishment of a condensed Chinatown evolved with the development of the city as a whole. The Chinese community therefore grew closely in location and consequently in its inter and intra-relationships. The success of the ethnic enterprises within the Chinatown today has unveiled a new challenge, as business outgrows the community and assimilates into the greater city commerce and the wider scene of economic activities. Without the desire to self-promote, the economy of the original Chinatown seems to be moving toward decline. It could be concluded that the sustained success of a Chinatown is reliant on the inter-personal relationships of the community, as without this priority, the overall vibrancy and identity of the community is weakened.

The Chinese migrant population in Glasgow was developed in more recent decades. Due to infrastructure planning and lack of government support, the community is divided across the centre to north and west sections of the city in almost indiscernible enclaves.³⁸ Without the establishment of a traditional Chinatown, the Chinese migrants and their later generations have integrated and assimilated into the city more broadly, led by their individual economic and social ambitions. This has been to the detriment of their cultural identity, quickly losing traditions to the extreme of the loss of their origin language in new generations. A closer look through the walking tour divulges that the downfall of many

of the public places belonging to the Chinese community do not provide adequate social space or nurture social engagements within and out with the community. In the same way that commercial goods have been tailored for the Chinese tastes, if the city recognised the value in social spaces for the migrant community to practice and exhibit their origin traditions and identity, these places could be recalibrated to promote socialisation and a degree of cultural commodification. In this sense, the success of the Liverpool Chinatown was greatly aided by intercity tourism and commodification, and so creating appeal to the wider city population is not without merit. Beyond these measures, the Chinese presence could be presented in the urban fabric of Glasgow using traditional signage and ornament in the enclaves, creating pockets of cultural expression and identity that would enable strengthening their sense of place. The city has witnessed a humble rise in the practice of Chinese traditions in public, as seen on Chinese New Year. If these celebratory types of events were planned and expressed more frequently in the form of urban festivals, it would cultivate citywide interest to the benefit of the Chinese enclaves and hopefully the community's economic ventures as well.

The root of the ultimate segregation of migrant communities debatably lies with government planning and the deliberate design of an urban infrastructure built on inequality and exclusion. In many cities, migrant communities have encountered a lack of opportunity and public facilitation compared to the origin city population. Today, British cities are challenged by an unprecedented flow of human movement, which will continue to place pressure not only on urban design decision-making but also as part of political reform and cultural development. In today's world, cities would endeavour towards social integration and inclusion of ethnic groups into its wider society. Urban traditions in cities stand as a reflection of society's inclusivity or lack thereof. Ethnic diversity resulting from migration patterns should be nurtured both in physical and social terms with a voice to positively contribute to host societies and cities.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Funding support for developing the materials of this article was made possible through the Leadership Fund of the University of Strathclyde. Thanks are due to Ms. Jane Balnave, research assistant – summer 2018, for her diligent and thoughtful support while developing this article.

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Figure 1: The Population Distribution of Chinese Migrants Globally.

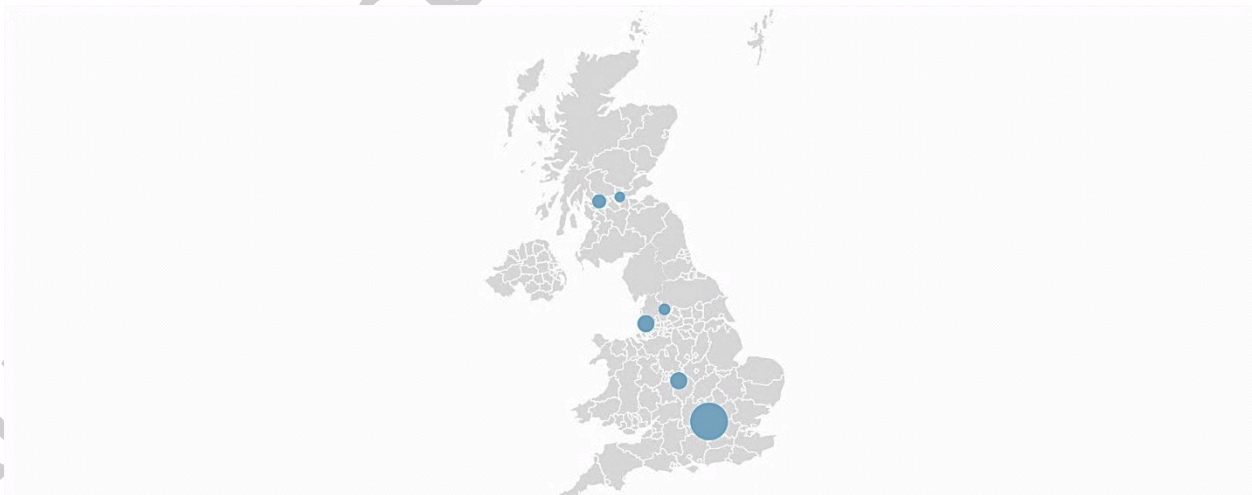


Figure 2: The Population Distribution of Chinese Migrants in the UK.

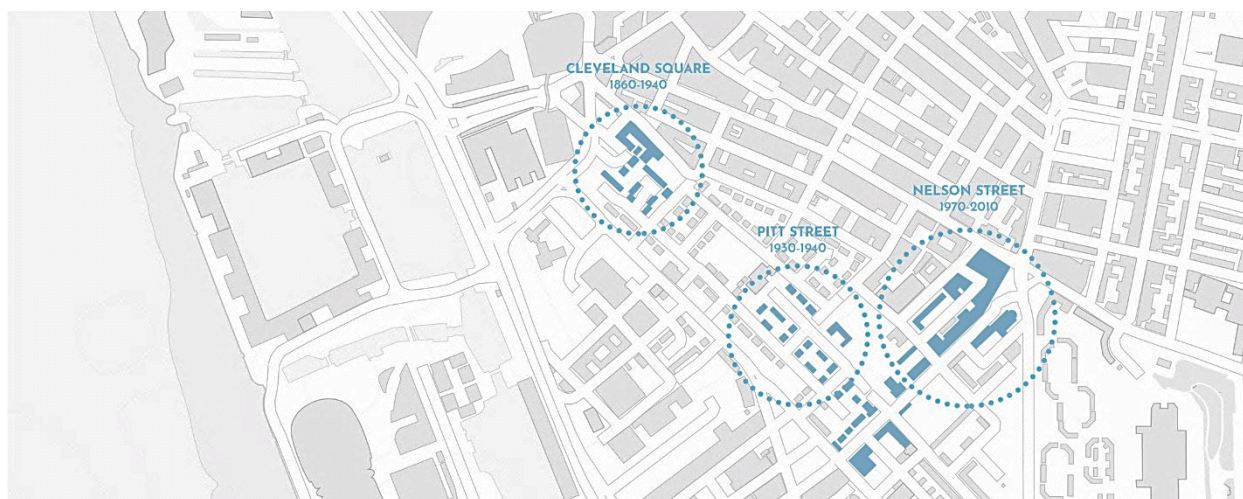


Figure 3: Development of the Liverpool Chinatown.



Figure 4: Primary Enclave Concentration in Glasgow.



Figure 5: Expressions of Identity.



Figure 6: Assimilation and Integration in Liverpool.



Figure 7: Commercialised Culture: Facades of Chinese Restaurants.



Figure 8: Commodification and Supply in Chinese Enterprises.

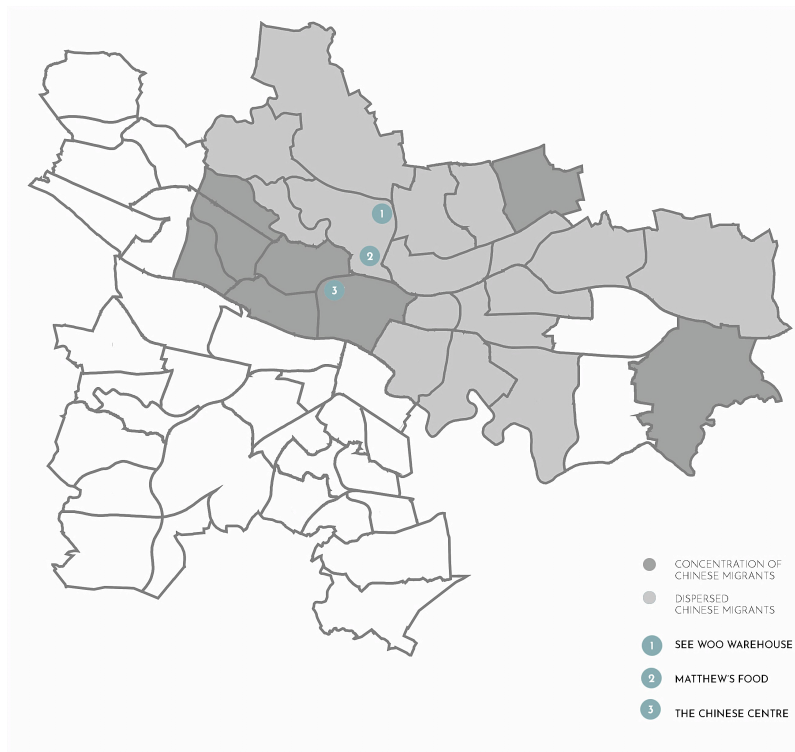


Figure 9: Locations of three cases that represent ethnic enclaves within the city content.



SEE WOO WAREHOUSE



MATTHEW'S FOOD



THE CHINESE CENTRE

Figure 10: Views of the three areas representing ethnic enclaves in Glasgow.